/76 cont./
of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to stays which are also of totora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

283 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
283 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt, a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
292 keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the
[174] /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
283 him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird
[177] down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/89 cont./

155 crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One
648 simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language
177 any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Čipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Čipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Čipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the
197 thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and
114 of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
[199] help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara, which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
[631] which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
[484] distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco, on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses." Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[113]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor..., comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor..., commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

/124 cont./ This form, seen in Two or Three other houses of the village, was an indication that the owner had traveled and was sufficiently rich and a friend of progress to break with the traditional style and imitate the type of construction in use among the Aymara.

/125/ One of the principal prerogatives of Paulino Kondori, of which he was not a little proud, was to distribute passports to people of Salinas who were going to Chile. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to put his signature and his seal at the end of a paper whose text had been drawn up by those concerned themselves.

His authority extended no farther. The Čipaya would have had difficulty finding an official to represent them who was more timid, more indecisive, and more limited. If their choice had fallen on him it was without doubt because of the prestige conferred on him by virtue of having been a former Bolivian soldier. The fact that he knew how to read and even to scribble a few sentences must also have contributed to his nomination. The alcaldes, in contrast, were more heavily charged individuals and gave evidence of a great deal of character and earnestness in carrying out their duties.

There must be a general assembly in Chipaya which meets to deal with questions of particular seriousness concerning the whole tribe. At least, this is what I was able to conclude from an incident which occurred during my stay. The territory of Chipaya, which extends to the north of the great Coipasa salt marshes, is regularly crossed by caravans of llamas going in search of salt or returning with their cargo. The Aymara Indians, encouraged by the timidity of the Čipaya, let their animals graze on the lands belonging to the latter and irrigated by their efforts. The Čipaya decided to stop this abuse or at least to obtain grazing rights in compensation. The corregidor went to remonstrate with the drivers in the caravan and to demand payment from them of a sum that was, moreover, minimal. As the latter proved recalcitrant he called together the majority of the adult men of the village around his hut and they discussed the question all night. The next day the Aymara traders came to pay up, some in money, some in kind.

/125 cont./

The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ilaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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601 father's brother (youngest)	pičʷu-tata, pičota
mother's brother	tolo, tul'u, tul'uya
father's sister	uplaya, pičʷu-mama
mother's sister	malakˣal'a, pičʷu-mama
son	maˇč, (wet-maˇč: "my son")
daughter up to ten years old	tur, māt, (wet-māt: "my daughter"); xat-waw (lit.: "female child")
adult daughter	naš-māt, naš-uš
grandson, granddaughter	tuto
[illegible] brother	hila (Aymara)
brother (name a sister uses)	wisi
younger brother	lakˣ (wet-lakˣ: "my younger brother")
elder brother	pakˣ hila (lit.: "brig brother")
[illegible] sister	kul'aka (Aymara)
younger sister	taipir kul'aki, skolta kul'aki, pič-kul'aki (lit.: "little sister"), lakˣ
older sister	pakx-kul'aki (lit.: "big sister")
brother's son	pakˣ-hil-uša, hil-š-maˇč, lakˣ-lau
sister's son	kul'aka-maˇč
brother's daughter	hil-š-māt, pakˣ-uš
sister's daughter	kul'aka-māt, pakˣ-kul'aka-uš, kul'a-kane-wawalpa, malakˣalkˣa-uša
male first cousin	hilaš-kˣa-uša
female first cousin	kul'akis-kˣa-uš
single woman	turtaka
married woman	tun
a man calls his brother's wife:	tsuñi, t'uñi
a wife calls her brother's wife:	tau(wet-tau: "my sister-in-law")

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Chijaya

/127 cont./

601 a wife calls her sister's husband: tsun (wet-tsun: "my brother-in-law")

/128/ a husband calls his wife's father: axmus, axmus hep

a husband calls his wife's mother: kaičiña

son-in-law: wasi

daughter-in-law: wasal'u, wasal'a

husband of a remarried mother: wir ep

wife of a remarried father: wiri-mā

[illegible] male cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri-hila (Spanish and Aymara)

[illegible] female cousin (without distinguishing degree): pirimiri kul'aka (Spanish and Aymara)

man: ješ

young man: toa

child (boy): skolta-uša

child (girl): skolta-ušal'a, skolta-wawa-ušal'a, kʷat-uš, uš.

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Corque, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya clans can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the curé of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once ayear, in June, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desolate region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uro tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worthlessness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this lost village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /326/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient rites. The whole way of life of this fossilized people would make one think

/326 cont./

them most totally ignorant of the outward forms of Catholicism. But rarely in the prayers addressed to the old Andean divinities or demons is no mention made of the Virgin and the saints. Sometimes even the latter alone are invoked in the course of ceremonies which have nothing Christian about them.

There would be little required for certain festivals, such as those of San Jerónimo and Candlemas, to receive the approbation of the most scrupulous ecclesiastic on the subject of rites. The procession which they organize during this festival is a simple parody of those they make under the direction of their curé.

In church they pray before the altars, burn church candles in honor of the saints, and ring the bells each day at the prescribed hours. A special official, the mayordomo, is responsible for the upkeep of the church and the manufacture of the candles, and must in addition ring the bells.

Several festivals are celebrated under the patronage of a saint and coincide with those of the Catholic calendar.

To this Catholic influence another of a secular character must be joined. The ceremonious salutations which form one of the obligatory interludes of every festival are clearly reminiscent of the old Castilian embrace. The wishes of suma-hora, "in good time," which are pronounced at the same time constitute a certain sign of the Spanish origin of several rules of Čipaya courtesy. The president and organizer of the festival bears the name of alferez, "banner-carrier," and his dignity is symbolized by a standard (wandera). The title and insignia are Spanish, but this office in several of its aspects clearly seems to be in the Indian tradition.

Short of admitting that formerly the Čipaya were in close contact with a village of Bolivian half-breeds, which is perhaps not to be ruled out, everything seems to indicate that these foreign influences came to them through the Aymara. When I make a study of the Čipaya vocabulary, I shall have constant opportunity to indicate this impregnation of Aymara in the Čipaya language and

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/326 cont./

mentality. A great part of their lexicographic store is clearly of Aymara origin, and this neglect of their early language has not only affected rare words but also those most frequently used, such as "brother," "sister," "good," "bad," "hello," etc. All the Čipaya without exception are bilingual, and even among themselves they do not always use their old Uro dialect. The invasion of Aymara words and phrases has brought with it one of Spanish and even Kičua /Quechua/ words. The prayers which nearly to the last detail are all in Aymara, are /327/ in addition sprinkled with Spanish expressions, which are found even in the most brief invocations or formulas. If the Čipaya formerly did have a group of oral rites which were their own, these have completely disappeared in order to make room for the Aymara ritual. This penetration must only have been effected in the course of the last centuries, as is proved by the number of Spanish words and formulas which, as I have just said, form an integral part of the religious texts.

Čipaya music has a purely Aymara character, and it is not impossible that it has also undergone a distant Spanish influence. The instruments on which it is executed are identical with those which one finds all over the altiplano. This activity of the Aymara in the field of music continues to our day, and I have witnessed real music lessons given the Čipaya Indians by Aymara or Aymara half-breeds. The best Čipaya musicians have had their apprenticeship outside their village.

The pagan ceremonies which I witnessed in Chipaya greatly recall the idolatrous practices the survival of which was denounced by the Spanish inquisitors in the Peru of the seventeenth century. They also have a close affinity with the secret cults of the Aymara. These similarities, which often extend to details of the lowest degree, attest to the uniformity of beliefs and popular rites throughout the whole Andean region which was under Inca influence. On this common basis developed the more complex religions of the great, vanished empires. The affinities between Čipaya and Aymara, chiefly in the religious sphere, are so close that we can

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/327 cont./

consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-maĭku, Estewan-maĭku, Kemperani-maĭku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-maĭku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio maĭku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxini, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

Carangas-
Cajamarca

/128 cont./

there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed in an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Cipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

In the mind of the Cipaya these cones of earth are "saints" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard them about them for the first time. "There are," the interpreter translated, "huitos a manera de hombres/ huitos in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Cunkirini, Karuaiñuri, Kenpenari, Kari, Kilimiri, Kmiñer, Kuiñawari, Enewari, Wasma, etc.), and of the majority of these names are Cipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of the ayllu Uruni is called Enewiri, or Enqhen (1). When I asked the

1. I am tempted to see in the Kilimiri (?) mallku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemente, has been indicated.

religious officiant of the ayllu Uruni about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the pampa disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ara) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

Each ayllu has its own mallku near which it argues itself, i.e., makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the Kenpenari mallku) constructed at the boundary of the ayllu, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous wilka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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Carnegie--
Chipaya

[illegible]

of Huacharalla whom I questioned replied to me that they were used for "supersticion," and that he did not want to know anything about the cult and the pagos ceremonies which were clandestinely performed there.

The agents of worship. Each festival is presided over by an alferez who bears the costs of it. It is he who furnishes the victims for the sacrifice and who distributes the coca and alcohol, the main ingredients of these ceremonies. He must, moreover, offer a feast to all the inhabitants on the day after the festival. This generosity gives him the right to occupy a place of honor in the middle of the assembly, to sit behind the degrees of second order, and to [illegible] receive the homage and compliments of these persons. These privileges do not end with the ceremony of which he took charge. On Carnival day the alferez of the preceding festivals dance, carrying on their backs the charges which they acquired while they were in office and which the rites have consecrated. On this day they bear once again the white tunics, the insignia of their rank from which they draw their name. A rivalry exists among the alferez which is sensitive and it seems to eclipse each other and to surpass each other in largess. If the festival for which they had responsibility was particularly successful, if the people of their area were well entertained and impressed, and if the garlands of cheese and fruit were plentiful, they gain a certain prestige which flatters their vanity. For vanity is the weak point of the Indian character. I do not know if an alferez who has proved himself generous has more of a chance than another to get the title of alcalde or corregidor. The institution of the alferez is very widespread in the entire Andean region. It is so strongly impregnated with Spanish and Catholic elements that one hesitates to see the survival of indigenous traditions in it. Nevertheless, the idea of rivalry and certain details recall the terms of potlatch too much to allow us to attribute an exclusively post-Columbian origin to this important office. One must realize further (1) the pagos which he devotes to

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Cáipaya

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kerge	marka	kot'a	eyewiri	Virxina	Mamita	
rain	country	mountain	foster mother	Virgin	Mama	
Anaru.	paita	°enekina	benimin	ni	k'anasa	kanavita.
Anary.	speak	us	bless		light	?

"Virgin, foster mother, I shall offer thee a libation. (give us) the rain of the sky and you also, mountains of the country, foster mother Virgin, Mama Anary, speak to us, blessed be thou."

In another but on the same day I noticed a censer that was smoking in front of the sacred sticks (kamana-para).

Each Thursday the Cáipaya burned a little khua at the end of the little wall which separates their group of houses from the others. They have borrowed this custom from the Aymara who practice it even in cities such as Oruro.

The Sanjuri of the sheepfold.

In the company of Anacleto Mullo I was invited to attend the burying of a sanjuri in the sheepfold of one of the families of the warta clan.

The first care of the sanjuri upon arriving at the place was to dig the earth to uncover a small cellar made of limestone slabs, 20 cm. deep and 20 cm. long, which was situated approximately in the middle of the sheepfold. The Officiant took out of it four five-centavo coins, dried flowers, and a little bottle of eau-de-vie. The flowers were thrown away but the coins and the bottle of alcohol carefully put to one side. Meanwhile a black sheep decorated with tufts of wool on its ears and neck had been led into the enclosure. He was as usual consecrated with libations and offerings of corn and slaughtered on the edge of the hole. The sanjuri, facing east, offered a little of this blood to the demons whom he invoked and implored in a long prayer; then turning toward the hut of the man who was offering the sacrifice, he poured out the rest of the blood in honor of the protecting spirit of his

/389 cont./

278 [1177] The Čipaya Indians of Carangas have been so deeply impregnated with the influence of the Aymara Indians that we may presume that, in the sphere of medicine, they are hardly distinguishable from their neighbors of the altiplano. It is completely [439] justifiable if their knowledge is more rudimentary because of their isolation and the difficulty which they experience in obtaining the medical substances, almost all of which come from the Yungas. I was able to convince myself of this by examining one day a bag of medicine which had been left by a deceased Čipaya, the father of a young Indian with whom I had a friendly relationship. In the legacy of the old man I found several pharmaceutical products which I had obtained in the Oruro market. The deceased possessed small amounts of them which he had carefully wrapped in some small rags. His son refused to sell them to me, allegedly because of their great value and the difficulty of procuring them. I doubt, [1159] however, that anyone in Chipaya could have benefited from them, for, to my knowledge at least, there is no Indian in this village who possesses sufficient skill to carry out their application.

164 751 183 Practically every day in the hut which I was occupying I received visits from Indians coming to ask me for remedies for various ills. The most frequent was constipation, which seems to frighten the Čipaya very much. I was also able to see a hernia and a terrible infection which the Indians treated by applying a [578] piece of llama heart to the abscess. The Indians often called upon me to care for swellings, the result of drubbings which they [842] had not spared themselves in their domestic quarrels. Some also came to beg me to cure them of impotence. In some not very serious cases of swellings or localized pains, the Indians content themselves with sticking a coca leaf on the skin.

757 At present the empirical medicine of the Čipaya seems to be limited to a certain number of insignificant recipes, frequently and easily applied. Faced with a serious case they have recourse to complicated magical processes which I had the good fortune to observe. I should not be able to say, however, if the exceptional

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Chipaya

/395 cont./ I do not

113 think that they must be considered as belonging to the Čipaya,
199 and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must
101 be added that outside their language the Čipaya do not possess
111 any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

126 These texts, the first to have been collected in the Čipaya
113 dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the everyday phrases which will be published at the same time as my Uro-Čipaya dictionary. /The myths and texts, pp. 395-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

Caramgas—
Chipaya

/158 cont./

252 who mentions them seems to consider them as /159/ indigenous.
352 The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very
[175] many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

513 Enormous wool blankets (ču̇si), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover
513 for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At
175 the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a chusi, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a
[177] blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization
351 they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in
[194] Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Čipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of
[198] old boxes. The Čipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small whatnots of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, F /see p. 150/).

354 To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Čipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive
[199] small lamps: bowls (ču̇a), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name mecha, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

/162 cont./

24] of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[12] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[171] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
[32] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

/162 cont./

439 neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly trade wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth started in a neighboring village were given to Čipaya women to be finished. Formerly some Čipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá. They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Čipaya outside their "bare plain."

433 The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole
439 world upset the economic life of the Čipaya. The low quotations for tin on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Čipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

648 These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

224 Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Čipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Čipaya.

[262]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

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/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous ~~felt hats (skara)~~ worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (käls) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

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/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almil'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name mankasa (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (urku) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (kits, pāz-kits). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [107] [947] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The urku is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [191] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [53] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A, B, C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [171] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/174 cont./

U 302 rotten urine. This liquid, which smells horribly of ammonia, is an excellent cutter of grease, the only thing which can give some U [514] suppleness to their greasy mop. This peculiar washing made me understand the reason why there was a receptacle in a corner of all the Čipaya huts which the master of the house used as a chamber pot and whose contents he guarded with care. When I assert that this toilette is the only one which the Čipaya women practice, I U [515] exaggerate nothing. Throughout their lives they never wash and U [516] their skin is covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Their clothes are equally unclean and tattered, and only during festivals do they put on a new urku or mantle. /175/ /Figure 6 appears here./

/176/ Technology

A 323 Ceramics. The pottery of the Čipaya Indians is not indigenous. U 415 It comes to them from the Aymara who trade it (Fig. 6 /see p. 165/). U [439] The center of this industry is situated near Parinacota in Carangas province where banks of clayey earth are found. I shall always regret not having been able to visit this locality to observe the making of ceramics on the spot. Without any doubt I should have discovered there the survival of ancient pre-Columbian techniques since the form of the vessels and jugs coming from this place is exactly that with which we are familiar from Andean archaeology. Aryballus (1[illegible]) are still shaped there as in the times of the Inca empire, and other receptacles which reproduce ancient types characteristic of this part of the altiplano (Fig. 3, E-F /see p. 155/). A U 482 It is not only in the style of these ceramics that we ascertain the influence of pre-Columbian models, but in the very manner in which the aryballus is carried on the back is a continuation of old Inca traditions. By means of a rope of llama wool ingeniously interlaced, the women bear the large aryballoid jugs on the back, exactly like the Indian depicted on a Chimu vase.

[TEXT continues on P. 166]

/176 cont./

415 Besides these vessels of archaic form which have not been
● 190 shaped with the help of a potter's wheel, the Čipaya use locally
439 produced receptacles, the technique of which is more advanced and influenced by European civilization. These vessels are produced in quantity in various regions of the altiplano and bear trademarks.

The Čipaya take good care of their ceramics, each piece of which represents a pecuniary sacrifice for them; hence many pots for daily use are wrapped in a protective sheath of undressed leather (Fig. 6, C /see p. 165/).

[193] The names (maska, lūš, čua yuru, oč, yakina) that the Čipaya give the different pieces of pottery they use are always
[194] Aymara. One can deduce from this that the Uro did not know this industry or that they have been dependent on the Aymara for a long time in this respect.

283 Spinning. The raw sheep's wool (uš-čuma) or llama wool (xwai-čuma) is rolled around the left arm and spun by means of a spindle (t^{h}eri) (Fig. 4, H /see p. 157/). The spindle stick is not surmounted by any enlargement. The weight /whorl/ (waiñu) is now of turned wood, but I was still able to obtain two specimen crudely carved with a knife.

[284] To spin, a bit of wool is pulled out and attached to the spindle by a /177/ slipknot. The movement communicated to the spindle is made by holding the thumb against the index and middle finger of the left hand, from right to left. When the spindle has begun to turn, the male or female spinner rapidly brings the right hand toward the left, following the thread (kauni) being formed. This movement is to even the thread. Once the hands are together, he draws out the wool and repeats the twisting movement. The spindle is suspended at the end of the thread, or, when the spinner is seated, it turns in a bowl (Pl. V, B /see p. 214/). When a certain length of thread has been obtained it is unrolled from the top part of the spindle and rolled on below. A new loop is made and the spindle is placed in action again in the way indicated. The threads obtained by this method are generally very thin. For weaving

/178 cont./

286
294
[113]

1. Rosen (Eric von), Archaeological researches on the frontier of Argentina and Bolivia in 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1904, Pl. III, Fig. 1.

[199] Like the latter, it is a rather crude imitation of old Spanish models. In Chipaya it was always a man who used this loom, while those of the native type were strictly reserved for the women. The designs of the cloth produced on these treadle looms very much recall those of our mills: those with stripes, chevrons, and squares and of a dark color oscillating between grey, black, or brown. These materials are only used for cut garments, or European in origin, such as pants and jackets.

286
531 /179/ The textile art of the Čipaya is fairly poor, inferior even to that of the Uro of Ancoaqui. We have already seen that the ornamentation of the different pieces of their national costume is limited to white borders or stripes of two or three colors. Most of [199] their coca bags are hardly more varied in their decoration with the exception of a few rather small ones in bright colors which are a faithful imitation of the cōca sacks which are widespread among the
286 Aymara. The few rare Čipaya fabrics which have designs are them-
.07 selves also nothing but bad copies of current Aymara models. The lack of initiative and experience of the Čipaya women is so great in this respect that they will hardly weave pieces of material with such a decoration however uncomplicated unless the latter have been begun in a neighboring Aymara village. They continue them exactly as a little girl who has been made a part of the work. These lessons in weaving given to the Čipaya women by their neighbors of a different race is a peculiar example of the way in which cultural exchanges between tribes can come about. I must add that the fabrics, [264] the weaving of which the Aymara entrust to the Čipaya women do not remain the property of the latter, who work on them only as laborers and badly paid ones at that.

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534

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Thumb
19.8	22.4	25.7	28.9	31.8	35.0	1.65

The total length of the flute is 39.8 cm.

[177] We do not find the same disposition of the holes on pre-Spanish quena; according to all probability European influence has played a part here.

Flutes with mouthpieces. When the quena is played the current of air is shaped and directed with the lips and must be conducted against the beveled edge of the mouth to break up there and set the column of air in the pipe vibrating. For flutes with mouthpieces (Fig. 11) the formation of the current of air and the direction given to it are produced automatically; it is sufficient to blow and to control the strength of the air current. The air is led through a "vent" (see Figure 10, a /see p. 175/, which shows us a flute with mouthpiece in section) composed of the space between the walls of the pipe and a block of some material inserted in the opening of the flute. The air passes through this channel and strikes against the lower brim (lip).

[184] Čipaya flutes with mouthpieces are made of tola (Baccharis tola). These Indians /185/ make them themselves, taking an old one as a model to give them the distance between the holes. These flutes are made of a branch which is split along its entire length. The two halves are hollowed out and then joined again in such a way that the air cannot escape. Where a perfect joint could not be made, the chinks have been sealed with resin. Since it is difficult with the bushes at the disposal of the Čipaya to come across straight branches, most of the flutes are not straight. Some even have the shape of a segment of a circle, a form which is perhaps intentional (Fig. 8, H /see p. 173/).

Fig. 11. Flute with mouthpiece.

534 the altiplano in general. The ligature in this case is made of a reed rolled around the two rows of pipes.

When the Indian who sold me the old syrinxes wanted to show me how to use them, he was careful to take two of them and to play them by placing one on the other so as to have actually a Panpipe with two series of pipes.

●[177] Few Čipaya play the syrinx, the few who were capable of it having learned it from the Aymara, and I noticed that during festivals it was almost always some Indians of this race who made the slightly hoarse sounds of this instrument resound. The Čipaya give it the name taks or use the Aymara term phusa.

[439] String instruments. The only string instruments of the Čipaya are manufactured guitars which come to them through the intermediary of Aymara traders.

The conclusion which Mr. Izikowitz draws from his study on Čipaya instruments are the following:

1) These Indians lack idiophones and original string instruments.

[177] 2) They have adopted flutes with mouthpieces and clarinets from the Europeans.

3) In the post-Columbian period they changed the shape of their drums which have become square and are also provided with a drum cord.

4) The trumpets are probably old but the material is entirely modern.

[179] 5) The Čipaya received from the Aymara the quena, an old, pre-Columbian instrument whose system of holes has, however, been modified under the influence of European flutes.

6) They have two kinds of syrinxes which appear of a type more archaic than the modern Andean Panpipes and even than the archaeological flutes with two series of tubes. The Čipaya syrinx, however, seems to have been modified in one way or another under the influence of the syrinx with a double series of tubes; only in this way can one explain its peculiar form. With the exception of the

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

● [197] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the ● wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

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#171 #94 been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. [197] Dr. Krickeberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

#171 #91 Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (urku), the female costume of the Čipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passage from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as shirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /197/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict *the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called* chumpi. This shirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned aside and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

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of those near them. The envy which tortures these contained and impassive beings manifests itself in an underhand manner in low acts of revenge, in denunciations of each other to the alcaldes, and in interminable quarrels. Some Čipaya seem to realize this state of mind and complain about it. One of them who had traveled a bit spoke to me of it with bitterness: "Here," he said, "all hate each other, all envy each other, all steal from each other, and it does not make a good life."

Married life often reflects the brutality and ill-nature of the characters. Disputes between spouses are frequent and degenerate into volleys of blows with sticks which the husband administers to his wife or reciprocally. The in-laws take part in these domestic conflicts and add to them. These quarrels can give way to dramas a few days after my arrival in Chipaya, a woman in a sudden fit of hysterical anger against her husband strangled herself with her own hands.

Sexual morality seems to be, from what the Čipaya told me, bad from our point of view. Young girls enjoy a great deal of freedom before marriage, and no importance seems to be granted to virginity. Illegitimate children are welcome and do not prevent them from marrying. In contrast, infractions against conjugal fidelity can have serious repercussions. Some women seem to let themselves be seduced easily, and these cases of adultery or attempted adultery provoke in turn brawls and scuffles. In general there is no apparent affection between man and wife. The women have nonetheless a privileged position, and their authority is incontestable. They [illegible] can be /207/ made without their consent. The children are never mistreated. From the point of view of character, the Čipaya compare very favorably with the Uru of Ancoaqui, their brothers in race who still more than they have felt the pernicious Aymara influence. The Uru of the Desaguadero compete in hostility and distrust of strangers, even well-meaning ones, and it is hardly pleasant to stay with them.

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experiences outside of their daily life -- a trip to Chile or life in the barracks.

Nothing better underlines the different character of these two groups than these texts dictated by themselves. The Chipaya are herders, very much affected by the influence of their Aymara and Kolwa neighbors, and even by the Creole culture. The Uru, fisher-gatherers, have kept almost up to their extinction, their way of life and relative isolation, which is reflected in their less altered language.

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4:Vellard--16 D,E-4,5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th - 17th centuries]

/40 cont./

1975 (Manuscritos peruanos en las bibliotecas del extranjero /Peruvian Manuscripts in Foreign Libraries/, published by Ruben Vargas Ugarte, 1935. Vol. I, pp. 270-71.)

Report on the Province of the Pacajes

...and when the Incas came and conquered this Province of the Pacaxes they caused the Uro Indians to leave the vicinity of the water, and made them live with the Aymaras and taught them to live on and cultivate the land, and ordered them to pay tribute of fish and to make straw hampers. Since they were very crude people, they did not order them, as they usually did, to worship the sun and serve it; and through the contact they have had with the highland Indians they have come to speak the Aymara language and have almost given up their own language, which was Puquina..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Madrid, 1881-1897, Vol. II, p. 32.)

/The bibliography on pp. 40-41 is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 113, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Río Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging leaves by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, lapped, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of months.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water fowl, ducks, geese, ibises, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the last is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. *A kind of red duck (puna-anhua) is most frequently* hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of parimeboré llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden knobs for balls and a small, grooved, wood stone for a handgrip. One use of diagrams has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Persons in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also gather eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1966
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[illegible]

Anciently, it is said, the Uru went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian Chipaya one—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an unsalvaged textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple loom loosely staked in the ground. Recently, most Uru males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the level, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a cruzin, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Capes woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and unsalvaged textiles pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (topu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool fillets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Tiwanaku braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. Unlike men, women wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

[illegible]

The Uru are famous balsa builders (pl. 11B, bottom). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow streamways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied Uru male has experience of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their leisure, they are ceaselessly twisting silky grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upcurved points at each end. An antler-tipped wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small worms, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

Le Beau E-5 (1937-1938) 1965
EF24 Unv. EF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupul) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably prehistoric old, perhaps having been taken from ancient graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Arrowpoint, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain rounded-bottomed olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a heavy-set lip and two long handles.

Stonework.—Mortars, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone bound with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of holes, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving battens, distaffs and spindles, holes poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening holes bottoms, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the ranges.

Musical instruments.—All the musical instruments are duplicates of those of the Arawaks: the open-ended flute (palo-viro, bone, panpipe, and bamboo), flageolets (bone nose-flutes, bones, pebbles, and turtle), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (pito, shi-shakkiri), and the drums. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charango.

ECONOMICS

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, babiru, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian shade huts. They exchange these for beans and dried potatoes (chuño), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture babiru mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except babiru.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The Uru are grouped into ayllus, named Tiliviri, Kimlin, Kotta, and Kulpa, and their territory is jurisdictionally divided into nonexogamous moieties: Ci ashui (corresponding to Juan moieties), and Anancha (Juan moieties). The kinship system is Iroquois, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

3:La Barre E-3 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now unceremonial, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pelo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimulo, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleevless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

Rare Coll. Ayacucho 1-8 (on deck) 1980 SF34 Uni SF34
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayra*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *machus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P 22-8]

8:Peru T-S (ca.1954) 1955
SP34 Uru SP34

101 Professor Vellard from the University of San
114 Marcos, Lima, had been working for some time
on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near
the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake
12 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
194 the last survivors of the original population of the
South American continent, certain authorities con-
tend that they originally came up from the Amazon
as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
197 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known
as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the
great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
194 Once having reached the highlands, what regions
did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
[34] tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far
as Lake Poopo and were the founders of Oruro,
which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
[197] meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date
they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
195 Aymara. One of the earliest Spanish chroniclers,
[34] Don Pedro Mercado de Peñaloza, in a report
dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes
the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives
of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds
[48] them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
[51] talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

[p. 303 - B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know [191] Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.[10] Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uran, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be 177 argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *takia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incasica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

144 *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some [140] time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a [198] period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [55] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Salina, Bila and Qispi [21] (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 142 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

[10] Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *iro* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almuča*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *ikara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *unku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čoče*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *chulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[9]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupoda*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *bolas*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *bolas*-making hook (*kaxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[9] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.[29] The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuirutuiti* (= Aymara *Tunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotomptéi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-uuuo-omptéi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pdtani-omptéi-majku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *majku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kaluori-čili* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-omptéi* (god of the earth) and *Omptéi-majku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uru est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Urus is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,[30] however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

[29] The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three on a match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South African copper mines and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps, for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

[30] Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya. "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanaco and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanaco fell down."

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

We the Kjatsuti [q'aŭsti, from Aymará q'ota, "lake", and Uru Jatsi, "men people"]* are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the salt, in the time of our Achichis [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymará] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for Kjaskes [Aymará, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before Camak pata [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanaco was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and sejes [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

539 Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the tricking of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoulders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

858 48 *Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes.* Small children own property which cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous sum, that was the end of it.

607 867 916 In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address him as *Wirawira*, "sir," or *kurui* "mister."

921 The Pleiades are called *kerkera*, Venus *Asak-kala* ("big-?"), the Milky Way *Jata-kkakai* (from *kka* "road"?) and another constellation *tuwaluma*; a comet is called *mallala* (from the Aymará).

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[149] * Sist, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *sutti*, "pure." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *t* is lacking in Aymará.